854 p. 63). In order to put the child to sleep and also to soothe it
513 in the daytime, the mother may lightly pat its back and occasionally sing a monotonous "cradle song." Van der Burgt has recorded one in which the evil mother-in-law is mentioned to frighten the child: "Be quiet; otherwise I shall take you to the mother-in-law. She will give you only water. When the cows come home and are milked, you will go hungry. Mother-in-law will not protect you from the sun nor against hunger" (No. 19, p. 71).

Spiritually and morally the children grow up wild. There
861 is no effort to cure children of bad habits nor to teach them good ones. As long as the children's bad manners do not inconvenience the parents, they even take pleasure in inciting them to fits of temper, to fight, and to steal. Only in exceptional cases is there any practical training in special jobs and handicrafts. Whatever the children learn is acquired by observation, listening, and by helping with work. From an early age they must help their parents in all their work, and being by nature intelligent and vivacious, they soon become surprisingly independent.

145 Boys reach puberty (kukura) when they are between 12 to
● 864 15 years old, girls even earlier. Long before that, however,
839 they are enlightened about sexual matters and have learned many loathsome things of a sexual nature from those who are older. This does not mean that they have sexual intercourse at a very early age, but onanism and masturbation are widespread vices.

[113] About these practices van der Burgt reports (No. 19,
839 p. 361): "Puellae praesertim horibili huic vitio valde deditae sunt, sub praetextu quidem, ut magis aptae fiant matrimonio et viris placeant. In actu ipso nefando quoddam juramentum vel potius imprecationem pronuntiant: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. Insuper variis mediis utuntur ad majorem voluptatem sibi procurandam. Media generatim sunt plantae, vel radices plantarum arborumve, quibus labia perfricantur." [Tr., "The girls especially are given to indulge in this horrible vice at an early age under the pretext that this makes them more fit for

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not available, it was socially permitted to have another partner (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature